

## Message Text

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ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 USIE-00 PA-02 INR-07 PRS-01 SS-15  
NSCE-00 INRE-00 SSO-00 HA-05 SP-02 IO-14 /057 R

DRAFTED BY AF/P:RWHOLLIDAY:MR  
APPROVED BY AF/P:RWHOLLIDAY  
-----000959 151802Z /47  
O 151744Z NOV 77 ZFF4  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON NIACT IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 273327

FOR USIS JIM ASCHER

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT'S ANSWERS TO AFRICA JOURNAL

1. FOLLOWING ARE ANSWERS CLEARED BY THE WHITE HOUSE TO QUESTIONS PRESENTED TO PRESIDENT CARTER BY AFRICA JOURNAL, LONDON ADDRESS: KIRKMAN HOUSE 54A TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD. TELEPHONE 637-9341. AFRICA HAS PASSED ITS PRINTING DEADLINE AND NEEDS THESE ANSWERS URGENTLY. EDITOR RAPH UWECHUE OR A REPRESENTATIVE WILL CALL ON ASCHER TO PICK THEM UP.

2. Q: WE IN AFRICA KNOW THAT THE UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH THE WORLD ARE GUIDED BY NATIONAL INTERESTS AND PRIORITIES. WE ARE ALSO AWARE OF THE LOW PRIORITY GIVEN AFRICA AS A WHOLE BY PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATIONS. IT IS NOW CLEAR THAT SOME CHANGE IS UNDERWAY. HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THIS CHANGE, AND WHY IS AMERICA CHANGING ITS POLICIES TOWARD AFRICA?

A: PART OF OUR INTEREST IN AFRICA, OF COURSE, COMES FROM THE UNCLASSIFIED

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FACT THAT IT IS A CONTINENT OF ENORMOUS POTENTIAL IN RESOURCES AND HUMAN TALENT. IT IS IN OUR INTEREST TO HAVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH AFRICA IN YEARS TO COME. HOWEVER, THERE ARE OTHER GOOD REASONS BEYOND THE TRADITIONAL NARROW DEFINITION OF NATIONAL SELF INTEREST FOR ADOPTING A MORE COMMITTED AND MORE ACTIVE POLICY TOWARD AFRICA. WE BELIEVE, FOR EXAMPLE,

THAT OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD QUESTIONS SUCH AS MAJORITY RULE AND RACIAL JUSTICE HAS A DIRECT BEARING ON THE STRENGTH OF AMERICAN SOCIETY, WHICH WILL BE REINFORCED IF OUR POLICY

ABROAD IS CONSISTENT WITH OUR OWN STANDARDS ON THESE QUESTIONS HERE AT HOME. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT OUR OVERALL CONDUCT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS WILL BE STRENGTHENED BY THE MORAL PREMISE INHERENT IN OUR STANCE ON THESE QUESTIONS.

Q: WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING WOULD YOU SAY HAVE GENERATED THE MOST INFLUENCE ON AMERICA'S RECENT INITIATIVES IN AFRICA:

A-THE "SUPER POWER" RIVALRY; B-THE TREMENDOUS ECONOMIC WEALTH OF AFRICA; C-THE 6.6 MILLION AFRICAN-AMERICANS WHOSE VOTED ASSISTED IN YOUR ELECTION TO THE PRESIDENCY?

A: ACTUALLY, NONE OF THESE WAS AS INFLUENTIAL AS THE SITUATION IN AFRICA ITSELF AND OUR CONCERN WITH ITS GENERAL EFFECT ON AFRICA'S FUTURE IN THE WORLD. THE CONFLICT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA HAS RESULTED IN A TREMENDOUS COST IN HUMAN LIVES AND IN ITS EFFECT ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE REGION. WE BELIEVE THAT THE UNITED STATES, AFRICA AND THE REST OF THE WORLD SHARE AN INTEREST IN KEEPING THE CONFLICT FROM ESCALATING FURTHER AND BRINGING IT TO A HALT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. THIS IS THE REASON FOR OUR EFFORTS TO HELP FIND A JUST SOLUTION. OUR POSITION ALSO FLOWS FROM OUR BELIEFS ABOUT HUMAN JUSTICE. WE HAVE MADE PROGRESS IN THIS COUNTRY TOWARD FULLY ACCEPTING THE PROPOSITION THAT ALL UNCLASSIFIED

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HUMAN BEINGS WERE CREATED EQUAL AND DESERVE THE SAME BENEFITS FROM THEIR SOCIETY. ALL AMERICANS, BLACK AND WHITE, SHARE AN ALLEGIANCE TO THIS VIEW. WE CANNOT AFFORD TO DIMINISH IT BY AN EQUIVOCAL ATTITUDE TOWARD RACIAL EQUALITY ABROAD. OUR INTEREST IN AFRICA IS NATURAL SINCE MORE THAN 11 PER CENT OF OUR PEOPLE TRACE THEIR ROOTS BACK TO THAT CONTINENT, AND HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY CONSCIOUS OF THEIR AFRICAN HERITAGE AND OF EVENTS IN AFRICA.

"SUPER POWER" RIVALRY IN AFRICA IS SOMETHING WE HOPE TO AVOID. ONE FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVE IS TO HELP AFRICANS CREATE A STRONG PROSPEROUS AFRICA AT PEACE WITH ITSELF AND WITH THE WORLD, NOT TO GAIN SOME ADVANTAGE OVER THE SOVIETS OR CUBANS OR ANY OTHER POWER. IF WE - OR IF THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES - YIELD TO THE TEMPTATION TO MAKE AFRICA A SOURCE OF POWER CONFRONTATION, OUR CHANCES OF HELPING AFRICA DEVELOP IN THE PEACEFUL DIRECTION ITS PEOPLE CHOOSE WILL BE GREATLY REDUCED.

CUBA'S APPARENT INCLINATION TO REVIVE ASPECTS OF COLONIAL INTERVENTION THAT HAVE BEEN INTERNATIONALLY DISCREDITED CANNOT HELP BRING PEACE OR PROSPERITY TO AFRICA. THE PRESENCE OF SOME 18,000 CUBAN SOLDIERS ON AFRICAN SOIL, ACTIVELY

ENGAGED IN COMBAT AGAINST AFRICANS, RAISES LEGITIMATE CONCERNS OF NEO-COLONIALIST INTRUSION AND CAN AGGRAVATE TENSIONS IN OTHER AREAS OF THE WORLD.

Q: THIS ADMINISTRATION MORE THAN ANY OTHER HAS BEEN ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN THE SEARCH FOR A PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, PARTICULARLY ZIMBABWE AND NAMIBIA. CONSIDERING THAT DECADES OF PEACEFUL EFFORTS BY AFRICANS HAVE FAILED, WHAT PRESSURE CAN YOU, IN CONCRETE TERMS, EXERT ON SOUTH AFRICA TO WITHDRAW FROM NAMIBIA AND STOP SUPPORTING THE SMITH REGIME IN RHODESIA?

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A: WE ARE COMMITTED TO INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE IN NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE AND HAVE BEEN ACTIVE IN EFFORTS TO RESOLVE BOTH PROBLEMS. THE NAMIBIAN INITIATIVE HAS BEEN A JOINT EFFORT BY FIVE WESTERN NATIONS, NOT JUST THE UNITED STATES; WE BELIEVE THIS COOPERATION HAS HELPED US MAKE PROGRESS TOWARD AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT. SOUTH AFRICA HAS AN INTEREST IN SEEING NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS IN NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE RATHER THAN A CONTINUATION OF THE CONFLICT. TO DATE, THE SOUTH AFRICAN APPROACH IN BOTH SITUATIONS HAS BEEN GENERALLY CONSTRUCTIVE; WE HOPE THIS CONTINUES.

Q: IS THERE NOT A CONTRADICTION IN THE FACT THAT YOU ARE AN ADVOCATE OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND CONDEMN APARTHEID, BUT THE UNITED STATES AND HER WESTERN ALLIES ARE THE INVESTORS WHO MONEY SUSTAINS THE SETTLER GOVERNMENTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA? WILL AMERICA AND HER ALLIES APPLY SANCTIONS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA IF IT CONTINUES TO BE INTRANSIGENT OVER ITS POLICY OF APARTHEID?

A: WE HAVE MADE VERY CLEAR THAT WE OPPOSE APARTHEID. WE THINK THAT BECAUSE THE SOUTH AFRICAN SYSTEM IS UNJUST IT MAY WELL LEAD TO INCREASING VIOLENCE OVER THE YEARS; WE HOPE THIS CAN BE PREVENTED BY REMOVING THE INJUSTICES, AND WE HOPE THERE IS STILL TIME IN WHICH THIS MAY BE DONE. AS YOU KNOW, BECAUSE OF THE RECENT UNFORTUNATE EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA, WE HAVE SUPPORTED A UNITED NATIONS EMBARGO OF ALL MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO SOUTH AFRICA AND, IN ADDITION, PROHIBITED SALES OF ANY KIND, WHATEVER THE NATURE OF THE ITEMS, FROM THE UNITED STATES TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE OR MILITARY. WE WILL CONTINUE TO LOOK FOR WAYS TO INFLUENCE SOUTH AFRICA TO CHANGE UNJUST POLICIES, AND OUR COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL RELATIONS WITH SOUTH AFRICA ARE NOW UNDER

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REVIEW. I OUGHT TO SAY, HOWEVER, THERE IS NO CLEAR AGREEMENT AS TO WHETHER WESTERN INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA IS A GOOD THING OR A BAD THING. SOME, INCLUDING MANY BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND MANY IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY IN AMERICA,

BELIEVE THAT THE ECONOMIC BENEFITS WHICH WESTERN INVESTMENT BRINGS TO SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS ARE A FACTOR FOR POLITICAL CHANGE BECAUSE THEY GENERATE PRESSURES FOR INCREASED FAIRNESS AND AGAINST APARTHEID. OTHERS ARGUE, AS YOU SEEM TO SUGGEST, THAT FOREIGN INVESTMENT SUPPORTS THE APARTHEID SYSTEM. OUR POSITION HAS BEEN THAT WE WILL NEITHER ENCOURAGE NOR DISCOURAGE PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Q: ONE OF THE ISSUES ON WHICH THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN OUTSPOKEN IS HUMAN RIGHTS. WE IN AFRICA WELCOME THAT POSTURE, NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF OUR EXPERIENCE WITH COLONIALISM, BUT BECAUSE OF OUR HISTORICAL AND ON-GOING LINKS WITH THE MORE THAN 25 MILLION PEOPLE OF AFRICAN DESCENT RESIDENT IN AMERICA. THEIR STRUGGLES AND OURS HAVE BEEN INTER-CONNECTED AS HAVE BEEN OUR CONCERNS FOR THE POLITICAL STATUS OF EACH OTHER. HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THE IMPACT OF YOUR HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN ON THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STATUS OF THE 25-30 MILLION AFRICAN-AMERICANS IN THE UNITED STATES.

A: WE WOULD BE THE FIRST TO ACKNOWLEDGE, WITH REGRET, THAT WE HAVE NOT COMPLETED THE JOB OF ENSURING FULL EQUALITY FOR ALL OF OUR CITIZENS. BUT WE ARE COMMITTED TO THIS GOAL, AND WE ARE PREPARED TO INVEST THE RESOURCES WE KNOW THIS COMMITMENT WILL REQUIRE. WE REALIZE THAT WHEN WE TALK ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS AROUND THE WORLD WE MUST BE READY TO ENDURE SCRUTINY OF OUR ACTIONS AT HOME. WE BELIEVE THAT THIS COUNTRY'S EXPERIENCE DEMONSTRATES WHAT CAN BE DONE IN THE AREA OF HUMAN RIGHTS. IT ALSO REFLECTS THE FACT THAT THIS STRUGGLE REQUIRES CONTINUED ATTENTION, AND THAT EVEN THEN WE WILL SUFFER SETBACKS FROM TIME TO TIME. THIS IS UNCLASSIFIED

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ESPECIALLY TRUE IN THE EMPLOYMENT FIELD, ALTHOUGH WE ARE BEGINNING TO MAKE PROGRESS ON BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT IN SOME CITIES.

Q: HAVE AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S SUCCESSFUL EFFORTS IN AFRICA LED TO INCREASED PARTICIPATION OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF UNITED STATES POLICIES TOWARD AFRICA. WHY?

A: ANDY DESERVES A GOOD DEAL OF THE CREDIT FOR THE MORE FRANK AND PRODUCTIVE RELATIONS WE NOW HAVE WITH MANY AFRICAN COUNTRIES. I ALSO BELIEVE THAT HE HAS BEEN A POSITIVE FORCE FOR OUR IMPROVED RELATIONS IN THE UN MORE GENERALLY. THERE ARE OTHER BLACKS WORKING IN MY ADMINISTRATION WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO OUR WORK IN AFRICA. IN ADDITION TO OUR BLACK AMBASSADORS, BLACKS NOW CONTRIBUTE DIRECTLY ON AFRICAN POLICY ISSUES IN THE AFRICAN AFFAIRS BUREAU AND POLICY PLANNING STAFF IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND ON THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL IN THE WHITE HOUSE. THE

CONGRESSIONAL BLACK CAUCUS IS ALSO PLAYING AN IMPORTANT  
ROLE. THIS IS A START, AND WE WOULD HOPE THAT OVER TIME  
BLACKS WILL BE REPRESENTED MORE HEAVILY IN THE MAKING OF  
FOREIGN POLICY. A NUMBER OF BLACKS HAVE A PERSONAL IN-  
TEREST IN WORK RELATED TO AFRICA, BUT WE HAVE NO INTENTION  
OF LIMITING THEM TO THAT AREA OF FOREIGN POLICY ALONE.

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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**Decaption Note:**  
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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
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**Original Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
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**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 427172  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** ANSWERS TO AFRICA JOURNAL  
**TAGS:** SOPN, XA, PFOR, SOPN, (CARTER, JIMMY)  
**To:** LONDON NIACT  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/8a3e1a10-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009